113
• 513

Yugoslavia EF1
Slovenes EF7
Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on sleeping quarters in the house, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

followed made the dangers of the night vocal for us. We had seen the dogs, tied by the houses, curled into sullen gray-white balls; they are wolves, they are the first dogs, torn from the forests and made half-tame savage companions of these primitive men. Here in the Albanian mountains the long process of molding life, by which men have created the breeds of dogs we know, the great Dane, the collie, the monstrous, fantastic bulldog, and the wispy Pekingese is still in its beginning.

For us, safe in the shelter of solid walls, the night wore away as the previous one had done. Talk and music and the desperate struggle with weariness; the leisurely dinner in the small hours of the morning; the brief lapse into unconsciousness, lying on the floor, which we shared with twenty others—our host and his wife and their smallest child, the last quite naked, had ascended the notched log to the nest of woven willow branches that hung above us on the wall—and the awakening at dawn to the smell of new-made coffee.

"Perolli," said Frances, desperately, "I simply can't walk another twenty miles on one little cup of coffee. Isn't there something left over from dinner? Can't I have just one little bite of corn bread? Oh, Perolli, please!"

"If we stay for that, it means we'll never start," said I. "Slowly, slowly, little by little, breakfast will be ready at six this afternoon."

"But I'm starving!" she wailed.

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE —THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO —MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 315 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 301 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were perfunctory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

[1] [i.e. eating — Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her.

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party.

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard.

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word p l a s, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «ὁσπίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word h o s p i t i u m, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

A S 515 531

No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

286 A

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

286 513 583 531

B. **Bedspreads.**

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopædia of Needlework."

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 286 513 583 531

The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4¼ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.